1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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600 ranza. A Tepoztecan tells what he knows about Za-
●173 pata in the following words:
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Yes, I saw Zapata many times. He was a short, slender man with long black mustaches. I was sixteen years old during the revolution. It began this way. Zapata was a poor boy; they had nothing to eat in his house but *tortillas*. When he grew up he worked as a *peón*. After Díaz had to run away, Zapata began with no more than a dozen men who went with him to the hills. Then more joined him. But they had no money. The way he fed his soldiers was this: he would go to a *pueblo* and say, "We need so many *tortillas*, so much beans." The people were glad to bring them. Madero tried to betray Zapata, and on pretense of friendship was goirg to kill him. But Zapata would not be caught. When the people heard how Madero wanted to betray him, they rose in support of Zapata.

[669] Once there was a battle in Tepoztlán between General Sanchez and the Carranzistas, and the Carranzistas were beaten. Sanchez was killed in an attack they made on a train at a station on the Balsas line they call La Cañada. That discouraged the Zapatistas. Everything grew calm again. But there was a time when Zapata held all the state, and for four months he was in Mexico City.

Zapata was killed by treason. General Guajardo, a Carranzista, sent word he would like to make an agreement with Zapata, by which he would go over to Zapata, and asked Zapata to meet him at the *hacienda* of Chinameca. Zapata accepted, and came with only twenty-five soldiers. Guajardo greeted him in a friendly way, and tried to get Zapata to drink with him. They had good beer brought all the way from Mexico, and of course *la mula*.[1] But Zapata would not drink. He went out with his men to make a circuit of the hills, to make sure there were no federal troops near. Guajardo kept reassuring him there was no danger; that his men were watching. When Zapata came back and entered the *portón*, Guajardo's men fired on him and he fell dead. But afterward Guajardo was killed by the Zapatistas.

[1] *Aguardiente.*

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Zapata was a very great man. The only reason he lost was that he had no money. He fought for the poor people, but the millionaires were against him. [769] [173]

Zapata as a symbol embodies the group consciousness of the Indians of Morelos which developed during the revolution. His exploits are sung all over Mexico, but it is especially in Morelos that his memory is revered. *Corridos*[1] about him, written elsewhere in Mexico, describe his "base passions" and refer to him as "an Attila." But in the songs of the local collection he is "our defender," "a Napoleon," "our exalted savior," "the scourge of many a traitor," and "so wise and quick-thinking a *veterano*." [669] [186] [171] [533]

Les encargó a las fuerzas surianas	He charged the forces of the south
Que como jefe y sublime redentor;	As chief and exalted savior;
Su memoria conserven mañana	To preserve his memory tomorrow
Como prueba de su patrio amor.	As a proof of their love of country.

[539]

It is only in Morelos, in Tepoztlán and scores of Indian villages like it, that Zapata becomes truly legendary, and then even mythical. It is only in Morelos that he becomes a King Arthur, a Robin Hood. The stories and songs about Zapata may be dignified with the term "cycle." To the extent that these stories and songs merely keep alive a glorious memory they are legends—the folk counterpart of history. To the extent that the figure of Zapata defines the standards and justifies the conduct and ethical judgments of the people out of which he arose, they are myths. [769] [773] [533]

[1] Obtained in printed form in Mexico City.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

THE VILLAGE AND THE MUNICIPIO

The relations of the village with the municipio are closer and more personal than those with any of the larger units discussed so far. Tepoztecans know the municipio intimately—they know its topography, history, legends, natural resources, people, and villages. Even small children can name the seven villages, and know the way to each. The limits of the municipio are also well known, as are the details of the many recurring boundary disputes with neighboring municipios. It is within the bounds of the municipio that the every-day world of the Tepoztecan exists. Here the farmers work the communal lands, cut and burn the communal forests, graze their cattle, hunt for medicinal herbs, and attend village fiestas.

The fact that the village of Tepoztlán is the *cabecera* of the municipio gives Tepoztecans a sense of pride and superiority over residents of the remaining villages. Tepoztlán has for centuries had a dominant position in relation to the other villages.

In treating of the units larger than the municipio, we have spoken about cultural factors and have dealt with history within that category. In the case of the municipio, the historical factor is much more important and deserves special consideration. Although the state of Morelos is a relatively recent political entity dating from 1867, the political and geographical unit equivalent to the present-day municipio dates back over four hundred years to the pre-Hispanic era.

According to a legend in Tepoztlán concerning the formation of the municipio, the surrounding villages were originally defensive military outposts of the central village of Tepoztlán where political control rested. Before the Spanish Conquest, Tepoztlán was frequently at war with the surrounding towns and, therefore, needed outposts to hold off surprise attacks. Only in this way can present-day Tepoztecans explain the location of San Juan in a place that has no water supply.

While we have no reliable historical data on the origins of the municipio as such, there is no question but that six of the seven present-day villages existed before the Conquest and that the present-day boundaries of the municipio are about the same as those before the Conquest. The geographical unit represented by the present-day municipio is therefore an ancient one.[3]

Before the Conquest, Tepoztlán was a semi-independent *señorío* (kingdom) which was administratively subject to Huaxtepec. Tepoztlán with its surrounding

[3] In *Relación*, pp. 238-39, the six outlying villages are referred to as *estancias* of Tepoztlán and are named and described as follows:

"The *estancia* of Santiago, called Tepetlapan, which is one of the six *estancias* of the said town, is toward the south, in the direction of Yautepeque. They say it is so named because it is built on coarse rock, which is called Tepetate. . . .

"The *estancia* of Santa María Magdalena, which is the second *estancia* of the six, and is a little to the east of this town, they say is called Cimatlen (Amatlán) because in ancient times they had there an idol which they worshipped which they called Ometecatl, and which acknowledged homage to the devil (*sic*) of Tepoztlán.

"And the *estancia* of Santo Domingo, third of the six, which stands sloping a little to the north of this town, they say is called Xocotitlán now and formerly Elouchitlan, which means land of

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Fig. 49. Ancient god of pulque.

. . . famous idol celebrated by this entire kingdom and visited by the foreigners who made pilgrimages to it and offerings which they carried from the kingdom of Chiapas and Guatemala.[8]

[773] The discovery of pulque, the popular intoxicating drink of the Aztecs, is attributed by legend to El Tepozteco, a Tepoztecan culture hero who was later worshipped as a god. In certain seasons of the year the cult of Ometochtli had all the characteristics of a collective orgy, celebrated in a feast called Pilhuana, at which children were intoxicated. The Codex Magliabecchiano of Florence describes it as follows:

This is the figure of a great god of intoxication that a town which is called Tepoztlán had as its rite; when a drunken Indian died the others of the town made a great feast carrying copper axes with which they cut the wood.[9]

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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The story of the conversion of Tepoztecans to Catholicism is still conserved in village legend, and the following version was given us by a conservative and aged

[8] M. F. Agustín Dávila y Padilla, *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1625), p. 617.

[9] *Estado de Morelos. Estudios Histórico—Económico—Fiscales Sobre los Estados de la República* (México, Secretaría de Hacienda), II (1939), 42.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

informant who was an ardent supporter of the church and claimed to be a descendant of Martín Cortés who had lived in Tepoztlán. 173 747

When the sons of the Sun [referring to the Spaniards] arrived at the place today known as Vera Cruz, some of the worshippers of Ometochtli began to waiver because the conquerors bore the Catholic religion. . . . The king and *cacique*, Tepoztecatl, an intelligent and astute man, naturally realized at once that it was the true belief. He began to weaken morally and he abandoned his subjects because he knew their beliefs were false. Then the sub-kings of Cuernavaca, Xiotepec, Yautepec, Tlayacupec, and Tlalmanalac demanded of King Tepoztecatl that he follow his former beliefs. But Tepoztecatl did not know what to tell them to convince them that the idol which they venerated was false. And he thus became an enemy of the others and they said they were going to fight him as a traitor. Now this King Tepoztecatl, learning their plans to fight, ordered his Tepoztecan subjects to place advance guards to await the enemy.

Finally the Spaniards reached Tenochtitlán and then the Tepoztecans secretly went there to learn about the new faith. Tepoztecatl was baptized there and they named him Natividad because this was on the eighth of September, and when he returned to Tepoztlán he was already a Christian. But the priest had advised him to convert his subjects amiably and with affection, that they should treat one another as brothers and that they should respect the fifth commandment of the Decalogue. This he did. He talked to all of them of the good and the bad and ordered his advance guard to suspend the bloody quarrel. When his adversaries learned of the order they came right in to where he was, not to fight but to learn about the new faith. It was at this point that there began the celebrated polemic between Tepoztecatl and his enemies. [This polemic is still conserved today and is recited, with its many variants, in the Náhuatl language during the fiesta of the eighth of September. It is called the Oration of Tepozteco.] The visitors were satisfied and asked forgiveness of Tepoztecatl. The King Natividad, formerly Tepoztecatl, gave them a warm embrace and they reciprocated and each returned to his own tribe. Natividad was highly pleased and satisfied in having complied with the task the missionaries of Tenochtitlán had given him. [796]

Natividad continued to teach all that he had learned to the natives of his own town, and when he thought they were ready to be baptized he returned to Tenochtitlán to inform the priests. He came accompanied by Dominican priests and on the following day gave their promise there on the spot of Oxibolta where today there is a stone cross mounted on a column of masonry like a historic monument. Tepoztecatl worked hard to help convert the natives. When he died he was interred in a special place called Tlaulahu and they placed a monument there. A cross was also placed at the site of Tlallacualayan where the first Mass was said.

From the above account we see that Christianity was brought to Tepoztlán with little difficulty. The alliance of Tepoztecatl with the Spaniards, whose strength aroused the awe of the natives and their leaders, facilitated a peaceful conversion. The polytheism of the ancient religions permitted a relatively easy shift from the old gods to the new, who had demonstrated their superiority by the victories of the Spaniards. But many pre-Hispanic religious elements were carried over to the new religion.

The figure of Tepoztecatl, as both El Tepozteco and Natividad, permanently 177 796